apparently was aggravated by pneumonia. During the rainy season that followed, this epidemic caused great mortality throughout the tribe, also killing Ikaranchó and his wife. Then the separatists returned to Tampiitáua.

The eighteenth century map reproduced in this work points out with three triangles the "Aldeas do Gentio Tapirapé [villages of the Tapirapé people]." In his account of Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira's 1911 expedition, Angyone Costa (222-223) writes as follows about the Tapirapé of the time: "These Indians occupy three villages, the first one located two days' journey from the riverbank, the second one three days' away. The explorer did not visit the third one."

The following appears in the account of the Dominican expedition of 1914 printed in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosário (317): "The Tapirapé form three groups, or rather three malocas [villages], five days' journey apart. The Indians can walk 50 kilometers a day. This shows how huge is the region inhabited by such a relatively sparse tribe. The village we visited had 16 huts, each one sheltering several families. It is true that when the Fathers drew near, some of the huts were emptied, and families, urged on by a suspicious chief, ran to hide in the forest. The people we found did not exceed 160 souls, and from this it may easily be inferred that the tribe does not include more than about a thousand members."

[103:186] The note published in 1912 about Dr. Francisco Mandacarú's journey states that the Tapirapé village visited by this explorer contained 268 inhabitants and that "almost invariably, a village merely consists of a single and numerous family." The number of villages, however, is not mentioned (cf. Kissenberth 2, 43-44).

The same applies to the account of the trip by the inspector of the Indians, mentioned earlier, which only states that "some 1,000 or 1,500" Tapirapé were found (Glass, 139).

Reverend Kegel told me that in August of 1932 he found in Tampiitáua some 14 houses with slightly more than 220 occupants. These people, as we have already mentioned, split up in September, but were together again when we visited them the following year. From 50 to 60 of them died during the 1932-1933 rainy season, and only three or four children born at that time were seen by this missionary.

162 621 In the age group ranging from 15 to 30, there were 30 males and 20 females, that is, 50 individuals of both sexes.

In the age group ranging from 31 to 60, there were 13 males and 12 females, that is to say, 25 individuals of both sexes. Only two among them were older than 45, one woman who was 48 and one who was 60.

There was not a single individual older than 60.

The most striking fact is the small number of individuals over 30 years of age. On the other hand, the number of individuals younger than 15 is not, in proportion, as small as the corresponding group among certain "civilized" peoples. [Ed., the remainder of p. 187 is omitted.]

[582] [103:188] The 35 Tampiitáua couples included 20 where the husband appeared to be older than the wife, 12 where the opposite seemed to be the case, and three where they seemed to be of the same age. I say "appeared to be older" to acknowledge minor inaccuracies in reckoning people's ages, even though I did not do this alone but in collaboration with Mr. Kegel, who had more points of reference than I because he had observed these Indians for several years.

592 162 The following table shows the number, sex, and age of the occupants of each house indicated on the ground plan of the village. [Table appears here.]

621 166 I heard in 1935, and published in 1937, that the Tapirapé formerly had five villages whose descendants make up the present population of Tampiitáua (cf. Baldus 17, 86). Wagley (2, 408-409) confirmed this, adding (4, 5) that those five villages "probably existed as late as the turn of the century and are said to have had a population of about 200 people each." He also refers (ibid.) [731] to epidemics as the only cause for the abandonment of these villages. I have already mentioned that in the case of the village [648] abandoned in 1932 fear of the Kayapó must have been a contributing factor. It is worth noting the explanation given for the move of 758 the occupants of three other villages to Tampiitáua: there were 166 no médicos-feiticeiros [Tr., sorcerers--medicine men] left 621 among them. This might, of course, have occurred as the result of an epidemic. The interesting fact, however, is that the Tapirapé did not mention disease but the lack of pagés [Tr., shamans] as the reason for abandoning the villages. Nothing could

[Text continues on p. 42]

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	MALES			FEMALES			
	Under 15	15 and over	Total	Under 15	15 and over	Total	Total Number of Occupants
House a	2	12	14	8	9	17	31
House b	2	4	6	3	4	7	13
House c	2	3	55	1	2	3	8
House d	1	2	3	2	3	5	8
House e	5	9	14	7	6	13	27
House f	3	4	7	1	4	5	12
House g	4	2	6	1	2	3	9
House h	2	4	6	6	2	8	14
Takana	5	3	8	-	-	-	8
Total	26	43	69	29	32	61	130

1:Baldus--41 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Taptrapé SP22

1:Baldus--76 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

[facing p. 193]

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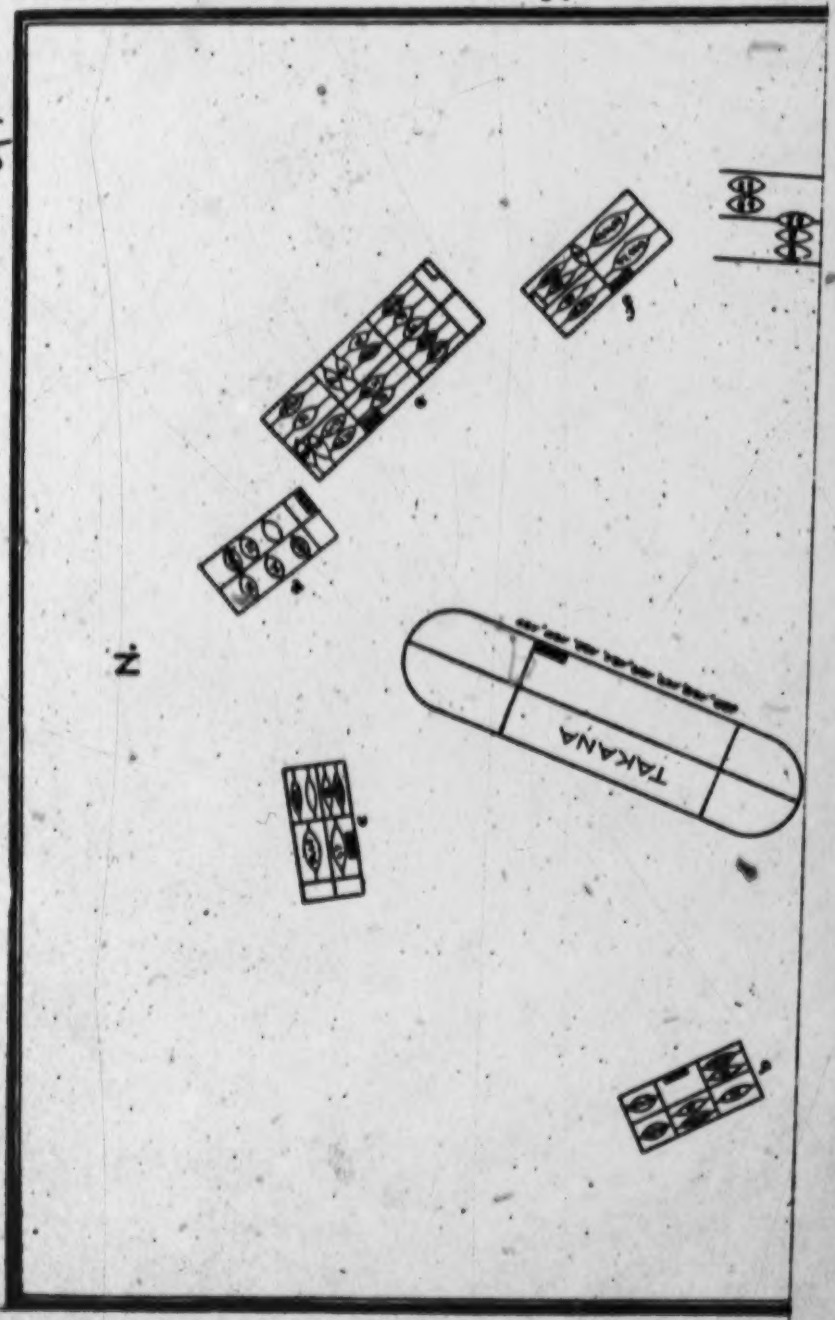

[FIG. 8 - TOP HALF]

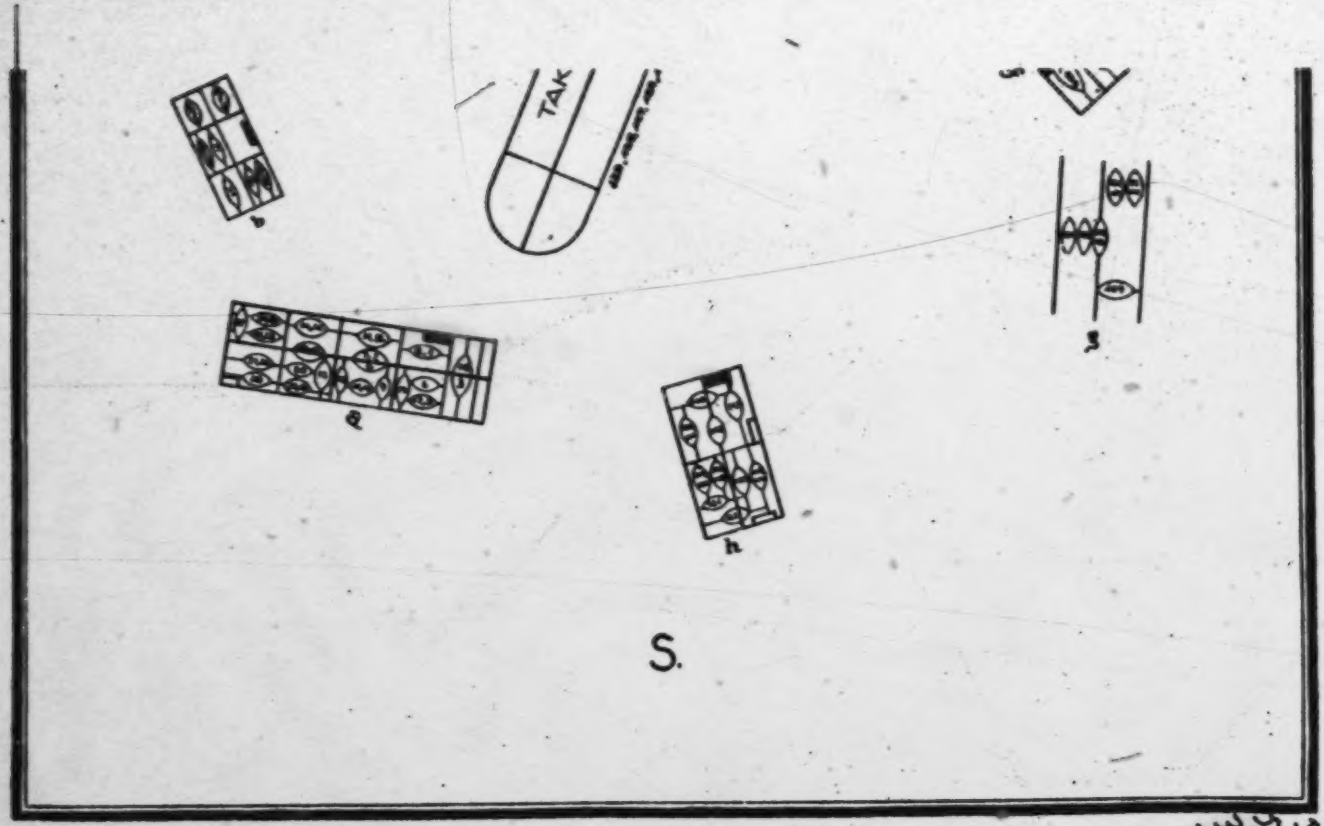

Fig. 8. Ground plan of the village.

[FIG. 8 - BOTTOM HALF]

1:Baldus--'77 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
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345

size of the houses also varies, of course, with the number of their occupants. The ground plan of the village (Fig. 8) shows this numerical distribution, listed in Chapter 5, as it stood at the time of my visit.

Since I did not witness the construction of houses (avuyra-ham, "to build a house"), the following description of the procedure is based on what my companion, Mr. Kegel, observed on a previous visit. In August, during the day, the men cut down tree trunks of varying thickness in the forest, as well as leaves of the so-called "wild banana" (Heliconia spec.) and of the palm called macaba by the frontiersmen of the Araguaia. These provide the beams, poles, and thatch for the houses. The Indians carry these materials to the site of the future village in the late afternoon, thus avoiding the daytime heat which would cause the "banana" leaves to curl in transit and the bearers to tire unduly.

The construction work begins around four or five in the afternoon. First, the framework of beams is erected. The vertical shafts are laid out in three parallel rows, both outer rows being of the same height and the middle one being higher. Thus, in house a (Fig. 10), the outer shafts are about 1.60 meters high while the inner ones are about 3.80 meters high, and this represents a general average for all the houses except the takana. In house a, the outer rows stand about 2.75 meters from the inner one, and the intervals between the shafts in each row (marked with circles in Fig. 9) are one meter, 3.40 meters, 3.90 meters, 3.25 meters, 3.50 meters, and 1.30 meters, respectively. Since these intervals are the same in all three lines, seven other rows of shafts result, which stand perpendicular to the others and divide the house into rectangular quadrilaterals. This division, which is socially important because it reflects the distribution of the occupants [110:194] into couples and nuclear families, is emphasized further by crossbeams that form the sides of the quadrilaterals and are tied with embira cord [Tr., bast fiber yielded by a tree] at a height of 1.60 meters when they do not rest on the forked tips of the outer vertical shafts (cf. Fig. 10 and Photos. 3 and 48). In addition, the inner vertical shafts are connected to one another with several poles (marked with circles in Fig. 10) at a height varying from 3.20 to 3.80 meters.

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

and only 147 inhabitants. This is an extraordinary example of the ravages of European diseases among a native American people.

Tampitawa (Village of the Tapir) is composed, therefore, of a residue from all of the five original villages. All of the customs and ceremony attached to inter-village relations have of course disappeared. People remember their former village affiliation, or that of their parents. They still speak of a person as being "the son of Fish Village," but village loyalty, once strong, has disappeared. Formerly, villages were basically endogamous, but some marriage outside of the village did take place. Today, only three people can say that they are descendants of people from Tapir Village. Ancient inter-village antagonism existed, especially between Tapir and the village which joined with it in 1900. Today, this conflict is only remembered under the stress of some quarrel and is referred to only as a taunt.

Depopulation has had little effect on the economic life of the Tapirapé. They are basically a forest agricultural people with large plantations. Manioc is their staple. Plantations are large enough, and the economic organisation fluid enough, to allow for the support of large numbers of refugees for a year or so until they can make gardens for themselves. Refugees have joined one of the large households, at present eight, each with some twenty-five to thirty people. Formerly these households were matrilineal groups headed by a man of high prestige. His wife's relatives formed the matrilineal group and he demanded labor from his numerous sons-in-law (husbands of daughters of wife, including extended "daughters"). The coming of refugees disrupted these matrilocal households. If a refugee woman lacked a close female kin, her husband often arranged for habitation with a friend or a relative of his. Men of high status offered the hospitality of their houses to incoming men of rank. Today, therefore, many reassortments of relatives live under one roof, and two and even three separate groups of female relatives live under as many older men, whereas formerly they would have formed one household under the leadership of one household head. In no one case, does a man control a complete household as he would have done under the old system.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

241 and planting, which begins after the first light rains of October, is done
462 individually and principally by the men. Cotton and peanuts, however,
[423] are women's crops. The women plant these in their husband's garden plots and harvest them themselves. While a new garden plot is cleared each year, a particular garden plot is generally used for two years and then abandoned. A man plants such crop as maize, beans, and peppers on the plot the first year and as they are harvested, he replants the plot with manioc. Maize is harvested from the end of December through February, the season of heaviest rains; while other crops are harvested at the end of the rains in May and June.

[241] Large gardens with many different crops guarantee to the Tapi-
262 rapé a variety and abundance of garden stuff, but meat and fish are
22 definitely luxuries. People in the village could not remember a time when there had been real hunger among them, but they were frequently hungry for meat and fish. This lack in the diet is supplied by frequent trips to the near-by Tapirapé River and the grass plains that border it where fish and game, principally wild pork (*Tagassu pecari*), deer, peccary (*Tagassu tajacu*), water fowl, and tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*) are found in abundance. During the dry season these plains abound in piqui (*Caryocar villosum*), palm nuts especially andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), used for body oil — and other wild fruits.

556 Among the Tapirapé wealth is not reckoned in terms of basic sub-
435 sistance, for these goods are so easy to obtain as to be considered with little regard. The possessions that lend real distinction of wealth are such luxury articles as the breast and tail feathers of the red parrot (*Ara chloroptera?*), beads, and pieces of hardware acquired through contact with white men or trading with other Indians. These goods are accordingly the most valued media of exchange in the community. Other goods used for a medium of exchange were urucú (*Bixa orellana*), tobacco, extra hammocks, decorated gourds, string for binding feathers to arrows, and cane arrow shafts.

361 The houses of a Tapirapé village form a circle around a great central ceremonial men's house. There are nine of these large thatch dwellings with rounded roofs in the modern Tapirapé village; four to eight simple
591 families (father, mother, and children) share a house. Each simple family
592 has a section of the unpartitioned house where they lead a domestic life separate from the others. Residence is matrilocal and the women of such a household are ideally related by kinship; yet each large household has

a male leader, a man of prestige, who is usually the husband of one the older women of the female kinship group. Apart from these residential groupings, the Tapirapé are divided in two other ways. 591 592

First, all Tapirapé men belong to one of the two patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties (2) and each moiety is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths, two groups of adult men of warrior age, and two groups of older men. Each of these groups bears the name of a mythical bird, the word *wirá* — bird — itself being used as the generic name for the groups. These *wirá* function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites: parallel groups also dance against one another in the ceremonials and offer reciprocal feasts to each other. The warrior-age group of each of these moieties has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and other communal work and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. 561 616 [476] [535] [574]

Both men and women of the Tapirapé are also divided into eight "feasting" groups called *tãtáupawã* — literally "fire all to eat" (3). Men belong to their father's feasting group and women to their mother's. Feasting groups are not only non-exogamic but people prefer to marry with their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry names of the mythological heads of the legendary original eight households of the first Tapirapé village. On occasion during the dry season the feast groups meet at sunset on the dance plaza for a ceremonial feast, each member bringing his or her contribution to the common meal (4). 574 571 582 [773]

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(2) Baldus (*op. cit.* pp. 95-98) did not recognize these *wirá* groups as age groups of men's ceremonial moieties. He calls them *grupos de trabalho* (work groups). He reports three wirá groups among the adult men and writes that formerly there had been three corresponding groups among the boys of the tribe. Nowadays the Tapirapé are so few that lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's *wirá* group in order to give the necessary balance for ceremonials. This presents the picture of several groups of equal ages: thus accounting, perhaps, for the divergence of opinion on this subject. Careful checking with informants, and observation of dances, hunts, races and wrestling matches when Tapirapé men were grouped according to moiety divisions led me to the definite conviction that these are age groupings of men's ceremonial moieties as described above. [314]

(3) Baldus (*op. cit.*, p. 90).

(4) Baldus calls the tãtáupawã "grupos de comer" (eating groups). He reports seven feast groups functioning in 1937. He vividly describes a ceremonial meal on pages 91 to 95 of his work already cited.

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

132
152 against the supposed menace and to kill the shaman who is suspected of having
756 become an evil sorcerer.

152 Though, also as regards the institution of shamanism, fear works out as a
184 factor of socialization by exorcising the dangers to the tribal life, we cannot say
648 the same about the fear which produces in many Tapirapé a disposition to adapt themselves complacently to the white man. During my stay in 1935, in the village called Tampiitawa, I could distinguish clearly between the great group of timorous people led by Kamairahó who received with open arms all that came from our civilization, and a smaller group composed of decided and valorous people who didn't want anything to do with us. So there were two opposite trends in their "foreign policy" and consequently germs of tribal disintegration.

123 Of the direct causes of fear I want to mention the following: The Tapirapé
152 were alarmed by my fury when I saw a man whipping his wife. To relate this
593 case means to confess a most ethnocentric and therefore in no way ethnological behaviour. But I think that in order to be an ethnologist it is necessary to be able not to be an ethnologist in certain situations. At noon on July 15 I see that
[592] behind the house in which I was living with Kamairahó and thirty other
[562] Indians, the athletic Inamoréo, nearly twenty-two years old, is beating a woman. With a cane and the blade of his bush-knife he is whipping his wife. She is so small and tender that she seems to be a child in spite of being perhaps twenty years old. I run towards the couple to interfere. The little woman is weeping despairingly, but doesn't go away. The man tries to tug her towards the house which is their house and mine also. She struggles. There he enters the house. Finally she follows. I enter also. The man holds the knife. I have nothing in my hands, but I am bound by my upbringing; I am the weapon of my culture and my culture is my weapon. I say to Inamoréo that people do not beat a woman like a dog. (I refer to this animal because frequently, among the Tapirapé, it can only thus be prevented from eating the people's food.) Inamoréo pronounces insults and his wife sobs. Now I explain to all the people present that beating a woman is a bad thing. Later, when I am sitting together with Kamairahó and his wife, I tell them that if a white man should whip his wife, another white man would kill him with a revolver. Jokingly I add: "If you, Kamairahó, beat your wife, I have to kill you with my revolver." With these words I go away.

[576] After a while Kamairahó passed me with a depressed face. I ask him:
123 "Where are you going?" Without smiling he answers: "I am afraid of you."
152 I embrace him, I kiss him impetuously in the Tapirapé manner, that is, rubbing my nose against his nose; but all this is in vain. He waits patiently until I let him go, continues walking, and tells the men and women whom he is passing that he is afraid of me, the white man who kills those who beat women. May I observe here that I always went around without a weapon among the Tapirapé, keeping the revolver, as Kamairahó knew, in my hammock hanging close to his hammock, and even there the revolver was at hand only to be at the disposal of the same Kamairahó in order to protect him against the event of nocturnal attack by the Kayapó Indians, the most terrible neighbours. Kamairahó enters his house and immediately from there sounds an agitated and long talk. With the speed of lightning the news spreads through the village that Kamairahó is afraid of me and is lying in his hammock and that I would kill with a revolver the husbands who whip their wives. A middle-aged woman joins me, saying: "I am afraid of you." I assure her again that I am not bad, that, on the con-

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Tapirapé do not use the tipiti (the long woven tube in which the water is squeezed from poisonous manioc), but squeeze poisonous manioc with their hands. The pulp is then spread out on a platform in the sun to be thoroughly dried. The flour is toasted in a clay pot over a very hot fire. 252

Wild foods.—Meat is a definite luxury to the agricultural *Tapirapé*. Monkeys, armadillos, forest fowls, coati (*Nasua* sp.), and both kinds of peccary (*Tayassus tajacu* and *T. pecari*) are occasionally killed in the forest at any time during the year. The hunting and fishing season, however, is from June through October, when the savanna country is dry. The savannas are extraordinarily rich with game. Plains deer, wild pigs, peccary, and wild duck, and geese near the drying swamps are plentiful. 224 [221]

Fish are shot with the bow and arrow and stupefied with timbó (*Paullinea pinnata* or *Serjania* sp.) in the almost dry streams and lakes. The village is almost deserted in September and October, after garden sites have been cleared and before planting. Men, women, and children move out to the plains country near the Tapirapé River and set up a temporary camp. They collect turtle eggs and kill turtles in the river. They gather piqui fruit (*Caryocar villosum*), andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), and other wild fruits, and, from October through November, they find wild honey both on the savanna and in the forest. 226 221 222

Hunting is done with the bow and arrow, but a club is used to finish the kill, especially wild pigs or jaguars. [224]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

The houses of a *Tapirapé* village form an oval around a large ceremonial men's house (tãkana), which is forbidden to the women. Both the large men's house, approximately 20 by 65 feet (6 by 20 m.), and the residential houses, averaging 13 by 33 feet (4 by 10 m.), have a quadrangular floor plan with arched roofs made by bending flexible poles and tying them together over a roof beam (pl. 19, *bottom, left*). The walls and the roof are covered with leaves of buriti palm and wild banana. 361 342 345

In the surviving village, called Tampitawa, there were nine residential houses, each housing from four to eight simple families. Each family occupies a determined sector of the house where they cook, keep their belongings, and hang their sleeping hammocks. Household utensils, such as baskets, pots, hammocks, and gourds, are owned by the women of each simple family. Houses, though built by men, are said to be the property of the women of the house. The house frame is constructed cooperatively by all the men of the house. Each man covers the portion to be used by his wife and children. 592 422 [423] 342

Ideally, residence is matrilocal, and the house is inhabited by a group of closely related women and their husbands. The household leader is generally the husband of the oldest woman of the group (see p. 172). Owing perhaps to great depopulation and the accumulation of refugees [591] 592

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

592 from many villages in the one village, many combinations of relatives now form residential groups.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Both sexes are nude. Men tie the prepuce over the glans penis with a palm fiber. Both men and women pull out pubic, axillary, and all facial
302 hair. Even eyebrows are considered ugly. Men wear cotton string liga-
301 tures around their legs, just below the knee. Men, and sometimes women, wear large cotton wrist bands crocheted directly on to their arms. Young boys and girls sometimes wear similar ornaments on their ankles; these ornaments are painted with a thick coat of red urucú dye and have round cuffs, often 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7.5 cm.) wide. Necklaces of beads given by Neo-Brazilians are highly valued and used almost to excess. Men
[302] paint their feet and the calves of their legs red with urucú; both men and women trace a multitude of patterns on their body with black genipa dye.

304 Men have their lower lip pierced and wear a small wooden lip plug. Two years or so after women have begun sexual life, patterns in the form of a three-quarter moon are made on their faces by scarification with a paca
[386] (*Cuniculus paca*) tooth knife. Charcoal and plant juices are rubbed into the wounds to leave dark blue designs.

TRANSPORTATION

[501] The *Tapirapé* do not have canoes. All cargoes are carried by the men
462 in a carrying knapsack made from buriti-palm fibers strapped to their backs.

MANUFACTURES

286 **Weaving.**—Hammocks are made by women from native cotton spun on
462 wooden spindles. The technique used is the simple twine weaving used by the *Tupinambá* and other *Tupí* groups.

323 **Ceramics.**—At present, the art of ceramics is declining. Pottery is
462 usually for cooking, and is made by women. Sometimes it bears incised
531 geometrical decorations.

531 **Gourds.**—Gourds are decorated with geometric incisions.

Basketry.—The most highly developed basketry techniques among the
285 *Tapirapé* are woven and twilled. Two types of baskets are flexible and nonflexible ones; both are of buriti fiber. They generally have a quadrangular base and a narrow, round top, and are used mostly to store manioc or maize flour. Flat, round baskets are used as cotton containers
[531] or flour sifters. They are usually ornamented with motifs originating in the weave itself; frequently the finished basket is smeared with black genipa and odd strands are scraped off, giving a negative decorative effect.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

601 **Kinship.**—Kinship is more important in furthering solidarity among
[182] the *Tapirapé* than either the moieties or the feast groups. *Tapirapé* kin-
[611] ship is bilateral, its chief principle being that all cousins, whether cross- or parallel-cousins, no matter how distant, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of people calling each other siblings are also called siblings. Mother's sisters are called mother, and father's brothers, father. Mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, a man's brothers' children are considered his sons and daughters, and a woman's sisters' children are her children. Children of a man's sisters or a woman's brothers are given special terms.

[621] The wide inclusiveness of kinship affiliation makes it possible for an
[178] individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers—and in former days many people in other villages—by terms of close relationship.

554 An older man of some prestige gathers around him by adoption as many
581 "daughters" or as many of his wife's "daughters" as possible. By the
597 marriage of these "daughters," he attracts a group of younger men within
592 his household who contribute constantly to his larder through the hunt and garden activities. At present, only three of the nine houses in the village were formed in this way, but reduced numbers, we were told, forced various combinations of relatives to share a household.

LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth.**—Although aware that pregnancy is brought about by sexual intercourse, the *Tapirapé* believe that conception takes place when a shaman, serving as intermediary, brings a "child spirit" to the woman. Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, and various fish and insects are supposed to contain child spirits.

843 When the woman is certain that she is pregnant, she tells her husband. They both paint their bodies with genipa and cover their hair with urucú. During the first few days of pregnancy, no restraints are imposed upon the child's parents, but as birth approaches, all sexual contact must cease.
[851] All men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers of the future child, together with the real father.

844 At childbirth the woman is assisted by her mother and sister and by two male relatives. The husband retires to his hammock and is forbidden to partake of any liquid refreshment.

847 Infanticide is practiced because it is considered bad to have more than three children, or two children of the same sex. The fourth child, or third of the same sex, of one mother is buried in a hole dug inside the residence for the afterbirth.

852 On the day after birth, a male child has his lower lip perforated. Until
304 the child is weaned, the parents must refrain from sexual relations and
851 must not eat salt, sugar, honey, or the meat of various animals and forest
262 fowls. Both boys and girls also are restricted in their meat diet. A son

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Mariapawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is